

that he brought to Japan that are now beginning to bear fruit: a stronger and more effective national security posture for Japan; a more confident Japan in the region; better trade and security ties, including the quad dialogue with Japan, Australia, the United States and India; and the Indo-Pacific economic framework.

His imprint on Japan and the very special alliance we have with Japan will be long lasting and beneficial to both of our countries.

#### UKRAINE

Mr. PORTMAN. I also come to the floor today, as was noted, to talk about Ukraine. Russia's brutal assault continues. We must do more here, not just in the United States but around the world, to help Ukraine stand up to this brutality.

This marks the 17th consecutive week in session that I have been on the floor to discuss the unprovoked illegal and deadly assault on the people of Ukraine.

This invasion started 138 days ago, and it is more critical than ever that the United States and our allies support the efforts of Ukraine to defend itself against this assault.

Let me just recap briefly the situation on the ground. A lot has happened since we talked a couple of weeks ago. First, here in the north, you can see the light blue, which is the Ukrainian advances. The Ukrainians have been successful in pushing back against the Russian offensive and taking back some of the territory around the city of Kharkiv. This is a critical area, obviously.

Kharkiv is the sister city of my hometown, Cincinnati, OH. I was involved in that sister city arrangement 40 years ago, and it is a beautiful city. It has been almost flattened by the unending and barbaric attacks from Russia.

In the outskirts of Kharkiv, again, Ukrainian forces are not just holding the line but also making gradual advances, same as through here, in Kherson. You can see there is, again, the light blue here that indicates where the Ukrainians have made progress here in the south.

In the south and in Kharkiv, there has been progress made. This is very important in the south here because, as you know, Russia's goal is to try to shut off the entire Black Sea from Ukraine being able to access and, therefore, to continue to be one of the great exporters of the world. They have blocked any passage here of the ships that could be sending wheat and other grains to the rest of the world, including to Africa, where they are very dependent on Ukrainian wheat to keep people from starving, and yet the Russians are blocking these. But these cities are still in the control of Ukraine, and it is essential that continue, that Russia not create a landlocked Ukraine, which would, over the long

term, be incredibly detrimental to the economy of Ukraine. It is vital that they do well there.

I will say, though, that here in the east, it is a different situation. Here is Donetsk and Luhansk, the Donbas region. Here is where Russia has made incremental progress in the last couple of weeks, using, again, bombs and missiles that are flattening cities, killing civilians.

This city of Severodonetsk, you have heard about—it is about right here—has fallen to the Russian forces after a months-long battle in the last couple of weeks.

Its twin city, Lysychansk, which is also in this region, has also fallen, completing Russia's brutal conquest of what is called the Luhansk region. So Donetsk is still partly in Russian control—partly not. Luhansk is now in Russian control.

But it is important to remember this: Russia paid dearly for every inch of Luhansk—by the way, much of which they flattened. They literally destroyed before occupying it. They lost troops, and they lost military equipment.

But, significantly, because taking this area required massive amounts of resources from Russia, it drew attention away from the north—Kharkiv, as we saw, and down here in Kherson.

So it enabled these brave Ukrainian forces in these other places to make progress, not just to hold out against the overwhelming Russian onslaught but to make progress. The Russians have now announced they are in an "operational pause," meaning they are claiming they are going to stop their large-scale offenses until their soldiers have rested.

But as in the past, they can't be trusted. And, in fact, small-scale offensive missile strikes and rocket attacks continue all along this front line.

We also must not downplay even what these sporadic strikes can do. Consider the tragedy that occurred about 2 weeks ago at a shopping mall in the Ukrainian city of Kremenchuk. This is in central Ukraine, the area we just talked about.

As more than 1,000 innocent Ukrainian civilians shopped with their friends and families at this shopping mall, a Russian strategic bomber launched a large Kh-22 missile. Now, this is a long-range, nuclear-capable missile that was initially designed to destroy aircraft carriers—aircraft carriers—and they shot it into the middle of a shopping mall—turned it into a burning inferno. You can see here in this photograph.

As a result of the explosion and the fire, 20 people were killed immediately, and more than 50 were wounded. Dozens more were declared missing. We are still getting the final numbers from this horrific tragedy, but it occurred during the summit of the so-called G7. That is the group of developed countries, larger economies—Japan, United States, and a few European countries—who were meeting to talk about the

issue of Russia and Ukraine, among other things. The G7 rightfully condemned this atrocity as "an abominable attack," an attack on civilians in a shopping mall.

Just yesterday evening in Chasiv, Chasiv Yar, which is a residential town in eastern Ukraine, a Russian rocket attack struck an apartment complex and killed at least 15 people. More than 20 people are believed to be trapped in the rubble as emergency workers continue to work today to be able to free those who were trapped, to try to rescue innocent civilians who are under attack. Again, this is an apartment complex. People are trapped inside it, even as we talk.

These barbaric, cowardly, long-range missile attacks on civilian targets have to be condemned by all of us, but they have to be stopped in two ways. One is by providing Ukrainians what they need in terms of anti-aircraft, anti-missile technology, but also by giving the Ukrainians the ability to use these longer-range missiles themselves.

Right now, the Russians can sit back with impunity and launch these attacks. I join the people of Ukraine in mourning for the loss of these innocent civilians at the hands of Russia's cruelty. The terror, by the way, that is caused by these attacks is not an accident. It is part of the Russian war plan, to cause terror. Striking civilian targets is certainly one thing they are doing. Continuing to blockade those Black Sea ports I talked about is another one, increasing the economic cost of this war on the Ukrainian people.

This is one reason why, by the way, a couple of weeks ago just before we left for the recess, we had a vote in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on a resolution to name Russia as a state sponsor of terrorism. That passed on a bipartisan basis, and my hope is that it comes here to the floor of the U.S. Senate, so we can all go on record, again, condemning what is going on over there and making it clear that Russia has become a pariah country, that this is not normal behavior, even in the tragedy of war.

Striking civilian targets deliberately is, unfortunately, continuing day in and day out.

In response to these brutal acts, the bravery and effectiveness of the Ukrainian defenders has been impressive but not surprising. Think about it. They are defending their families. They are also defending freedom, defending their homeland. The stakes of this war are high, and the fate of a sovereign country hangs in the balance. But I will say today, it is not just about Ukraine, as important as that is. It is bigger than that because, if President Putin is successful in taking more of Ukraine than he already controls—let's see the map again.

If he does, in fact, expand beyond what he has already done, taking Crimea, taking this area of Luhansk and

Donetsk, taking the southern part of Ukraine, he is not going to stop there. I don't think anybody believes that or is so naive to believe that.

In 2016, he stated, "The borders of Russia never end." This was after he attacked Ukraine the first time. That was in 2016.

In a speech claiming victory in May of this year, President Putin painted Ukrainians as Nazis. Remember, the President of Ukraine is Jewish. His family went through the ordeal of the Holocaust.

But he was painting Ukrainians somehow as Nazis, saying that the invasion of Ukraine was inevitable and that he was forced into this conflict by NATO. NATO is not an offensive association; it is strictly defensive.

The disinformation and lies also come from those around him. Vladimir Medinsky, one of President Putin's senior advisers, lamented that Russia's territory was greatly diminished from the time when Moscow controlled more than 14 currently independent nations, including Finland and Poland. This territorial retreat "is not forever," he said.

Europeans are waking up to this one-time unimaginable threat. According to a European Council on Foreign Relations opinion poll conducted 2 months ago, a possible Russian invasion of their nation is seen as one of the top three threats now by 53 percent of Swedes, 54 percent of Romanians, and 40 percent of Germans. I was just in Romania a few weeks ago and got to hear from Romanians directly about this concern.

I also went to Moldova, where there is even more of a concern because there is a Russian-occupied area called Transnistria right along their country. So what can be done to stop and reverse the Russian gains here in the east? The most important issue to me is to help these brave Ukrainians be able to defend themselves by giving them the weapons to level the playing field with Russia so they are not constantly outgunned.

I have heard this from President Zelenskyy. We have all heard it from Russian forces that they are making some progress in the east because they have these weapons, these missiles, and the Ukrainians do not.

We also heard about this from members of the European Parliament who came here to visit us about 3 weeks ago, came to the Ukraine Caucus. We talked about the caucus earlier. We also heard from some fighter pilots who came about 2-and-a-half weeks ago and met with our Ukrainian Caucus. What they need are the weapons to be able to respond.

Their words have been explicit and direct: Russian artillery outguns theirs in terms of range, in terms of accuracy. They can sit back and fire on the Ukrainians' military and civilian targets, and the Ukrainians cannot respond. They cannot reach them. Ukraine needs advanced Western rocket artillery systems to even those odds.

Thankfully, the United States and several of our allies have these exact systems. The UK has some systems. Germany has some systems. Over the past month, the United States has provided Ukraine with several of what are called HIMARS or high mobility artillery rocket systems.

We have got hundreds of these in our inventory, by the way, and many of which are not with active units, in other words, they would be available. These are superior to Russian artillery in almost every way: mobility, reload time, accuracy, and most importantly, range. And yet, during Ukraine's hour of need, we continue to move too slowly.

In the initial tranche of HIMARS, say about 6 weeks ago, only four of these units were announced. They are now in service, as we understand it, and they are working. Four more were announced a few weeks ago, and another four were announced this past Friday. Reports are these are still in transit. They are not yet being used to protect these Ukrainian civilians who are being bombed.

They need more, and they need them now. Several have come from Germany and from the UK; but they need more, and they need them now.

How many do they need? It depends who you talk to, but the Ukrainian military officials who have spoken out on this, who are the experts, say they need at least 48 of these systems to be able to begin to turn the tables in the east. The United States is now committed to 12; only 4 are definitely in place. We need to move faster.

Apparently, there was a lot of discussion within the Agencies, within the White House, about whether to do this or not; that is what took longer for these HIMARS to be approved. My view is we have had the dialogue. These systems are no more escalatory than Javelins were or other weapons. These are defensive weapons. These are the ability for Ukraine to defend itself, and I hope we can continue to provide them and move more quickly. They are working. They are proving their worth.

Let me show you a photograph of what HIMARS can do to Russian logistics. These are images of Russian ammunition dumps exploding after reportedly being struck by missiles from a HIMARS system. Previously, Ukraine could not reach these munition dumps, but now with HIMARS, they can. Striking these ammo dumps can have a devastating impact on Russian forces.

These are depots of weapons that are behind the Russian lines but in the country of Ukraine. And, finally, they can access them. Striking them is going to have a devastating impact. According to Serhii Kuzan, the chairman of the Ukrainian Security and Cooperation Center in Kyiv, Ukraine has used HIMARS rockets to now destroy 20 warehouses of Russian artillery ammunition.

As I said earlier, Russian soldiers are currently in an "operational pause" to

recover and resupply before future offenses, so they say, but they cannot resupply without ammunition.

So destroying these hubs will set Russia's timetables back and buy Ukraine more time to prepare and to receive more Western military equipment like the HIMARS.

These pictures are exactly the proof we need to show that what we are sending is now making a difference. Imagine what they could do if they had enough to be able to truly push back.

These HIMARS systems arrived in Ukraine too late to avoid some of the damage that we have been talking about today and, certainly, some of these cities, like Severodonetsk we talked about that has now fallen to the Russians or Lysychansk, which has fallen to the Russians.

They arrived too late for the thousands of brave Ukrainians who were killed and wounded defending those cities. If we don't act quickly, then future HIMARS rockets will arrive too late to save more Ukrainian citizens, more Ukrainian soldiers, more Ukrainian innocents. Time is of the essence, and I urge the administration not to delay.

Again, I am pleased they are getting those weapons in. I wish it had been sooner. And we now have to encourage more and faster.

When people, understandably, ask about our support for Ukraine, our taxpayer-funded aid to the tune of billions of dollars, they deserve to know that their hard-earned taxpayer dollars are being spent wisely.

In my view, that means spending it on weapons like HIMARS that are actually making a difference on the battlefield. I believe the aid that we and our allies are providing is a wise investment that will pay dividends over time, but let's provide them the right aid.

Ukrainians are defending their country with bravery and skill, exceeding all expectations, and they are ensuring that their country is not being handed over to President Putin. We have to assure them that the United States and their allies are doing all we can to help them save their country.

We know that making any territorial concessions to Russia would only embolden President Putin and other future would-be conquerors. The lesson that they would learn is that with enough patience they can wear down the West and get what we want.

So I was pleased to see 2 weeks ago, when the leaders of the so-called G7 countries—again, U.S., Japan, European countries—stated:

We will continue to provide financial, humanitarian, military, and diplomatic support and stand with Ukraine for as long as it takes.

We saw how territorial concessions in the late 1930s only increased Nazi Germany's appetite, and this is clearly no different.

Russia's goals are not limited to just the Donbas or southern Ukraine. President Zelenskyy clearly understands this. He said to CNN recently:

Ukrainians are not ready to give away their land, to accept that these territories belong to Russia. This is our land.

I could not agree more. In fact, it goes beyond Ukraine. President Putin will conquer as much of the former Soviet empire as we let him. We must stop him here in Ukraine.

With regard to sanctions, the EU is still using Russian oil and gas, sending roughly \$870 million a day to help fund the Russian war machine.

We have the capacity here in the United States to help our partners and shore up our domestic energy production—not only important for Americans to get the cost of gas down with more supply, but also critical for our allies.

We are seeing some small progress, but much more needs to be done to reduce this reliance on Russian energy. By the end of this year, we expect coal and oil to be phased out. The United States must do its part and increase our energy production, while at the same time be a leader in developing new energy technologies that can help reduce emissions and increase national as well as global security.

This is not either or. It should be all of the above. We should be producing what we need right now to ensure that Europe can stop its dependency on Russia and sending this almost a billion dollars a day to fund the war machine, but at the same time we should be producing energy from all sources, including green energy, including nuclear energy.

And like sanctions and military aid, when the United States leads, the world tends to follow. But most importantly, our allies and enemies watch us.

This is true with regard to a revived NATO right now. In fact, in the wake of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, as we talked about earlier, both Sweden and Finland have applied to join NATO, shunning off long histories of neutrality.

In Brussels, NATO Ambassadors, on July 5, signed the accession protocols that put them a step closer. Now, all 30 NATO nations will review their applications for ratification. Canada, Estonia, Denmark, Norway, and Germany have already ratified Finland and Sweden's applications. Let's join them. Let's do it this week. Let's do it through an expedited procedure and just get it done. I look forward to voting in favor of those applications in committee and on the floor.

We cannot forget that Russia has claimed this war started because Ukraine wanted to join NATO. Of course, they did. They reaffirmed that in 2014 when they threw off a corrupt Russia-backed government. They are looking westward to Europe, to us, to freedom, to democracy. They want to join NATO and the European Union and form ever-closer bonds with the transatlantic community.

I have long believed that NATO deserved a NATO membership action plan

to provide a clear path to eventual NATO membership, and they have made significant progress in doing this. This brutal invasion is just Russia's latest attempt to throw that progress off course. We must not be deterred.

Now, as we enter the fifth month of this war—I have come down here every week to talk about it—we have seen the resilience and the fortitude of the Ukrainians. Even as their brothers and husbands go to fight for the homeland, the women of Ukraine are incredibly brave as well, and I have seen them at the border with Poland; I have seen them at the border with Moldova; and I have seen them as they come to the United States and talk about what is going on in their country. They know this is the fight, during our generation, where democracy is on the line. How this war develops will have far-reaching impact on the entire globe.

In Ohio, I see this all the time. A couple of weeks ago, I was in Cleveland for what was called "Amplify the Voice: A Benefit Concert for Ukraine." We had 1,000 people come to this beautiful Severance Hall, which is the music center for the Cleveland Orchestra, and one of the premier orchestras in the world, by the way. They made the center available to the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus to perform to, again, an audience of people who were Ukrainian Americans but also from every nationality, particularly the nationalities communities, as we call them in Cleveland, which would be people from Eastern and Central Europe who understand the importance of this fight. So Lithuanians were there; Poles were there; Romanians were there; Hungarians were there—people from all over the region.

The concert raised funds for the United Ukrainian Organizations of Ohio's Fund to Aid Ukraine. They are doing great work.

It is amazing how many people who spoke who are doing something to help with regard to Ukraine—medical supplies, armored vests, helping with regard to emergency supplies just so people can have enough food to get by when they are subject to some of these bombings we have seen today.

We also heard a beautiful concert. Ukrainians of all stripes certainly understand what is going on and why this is so important and have for a long time because they know what it is like to live under the thumb of authoritarianism. They broke away from it many times during their history and again more recently in 1991 and again in 2014.

I was in Ukraine after the Revolution of Dignity in 2014, where Ukrainians decided for themselves that they wanted to turn away from Russian domination and turn to us.

I believe we can help them win this time. I am confident of it. That is why I have introduced a bipartisan resolution with Senators Manchin, Murkowski, and Hassan to recognize the U.S. commitment to help rebuild

Ukraine. According to the United Nations Human Rights Council, more than 7 million civilians have fled their homeland, and there has been about \$600 billion worth of damage to Ukraine's infrastructure.

By the way, those refugees, those civilians whom I have met—they all want to go home. And in a sense, it is not perfect to call them refugees because they are really just Ukrainians who are temporarily forced to leave their country, but they all want to go home and rebuild Ukraine.

It is not just a human toll we see captured in images and videos, but people's homes and livelihoods have vanished overnight. So they are going to need help. The countries of the free world are with us, and we have to be sure that they step up, including some countries that were less comfortable providing military assistance that are providing more monetary assistance—some of those countries are really going to need to step up in terms of helping to get Ukraine back on its feet.

Now is not the time for us to back away. We have to be able to win this militarily and then begin the rebuilding. It is not a time for us to be tentative or equivocal. At this critical juncture, let's lead our allies to provide what Ukraine needs to protect their homeland and to defend democracy.

I yield the floor.

#### ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands adjourned until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 6:51 p.m., adjourned until Tuesday, July 12, 2022, at 10 a.m.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate:

##### DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

MILANCIY DANIELLE HARRIS, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE A DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, VICE KARI A. BINGEN.

##### DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

PHILLIP A. WASHINGTON, OF ILLINOIS, TO BE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION FOR THE TERM OF FIVE YEARS, VICE STEPHEN M. DICKSON, RESIGNED.

##### PUBLIC BUILDINGS REFORM BOARD

JEFFREY R. GURAL, OF NEW YORK, TO BE CHAIRPERSON OF THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS REFORM BOARD FOR A TERM OF SIX YEARS. (NEW POSITION)

##### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ANN MARIE YASTISHOCK, OF PENNSYLVANIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA, AND TO SERVE CONCURRENTLY AND WITHOUT ADDITIONAL COMPENSATION AS AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE SOLOMON ISLANDS AND AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF VANUATU.

MANUEL P. MICALLER, JR., OF CALIFORNIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF TAJIKISTAN.

KRISTINA A. KVIEN, OF CALIFORNIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA.